

level of posturing and theatrics that you assume to be the professional standard of the city," says the Atlanta Constitution. "But then every once in a while, the world shifts and you are treated to a performance of breathtaking gall that simply blows you away. There, before your eyes, you see a new standard being set, rendering all prior examples of pandering insignificant by comparison."

In other words, this testimony that I just reread and these hearings were pure hypocrisy and set a new standard of hypocrisy.

I don't think anybody in their right mind could have watched those hearings and not felt some anguish for those who suffered, and welled up support for those who were courageous, and an understanding that something needed to be done and soon.

Hypocritical pandering? I think not. I think it is a deep-seated problem of public servants who thought they were not accountable and had come to misunderstand, Mr. President, that their job is to serve the American people.

This editorial goes on to say that, obviously, tax collectors are going to be unpopular. In other words, enforcement people are, by nature, going to be unpopular. Are FBI agents unpopular? Are police officers unpopular? No; the Nation is not fearful of fair enforcement; never has been. Are they fearful of unchecked power and intimidation and threats? Yes; all people are wherever they happen to be, including the United States.

Wherever it exists, it should be rooted out. Time and time again, whenever we are called upon to do so, we should make sure that all Government servants are reminded they work for the American people who are a free people, who are dedicated free people by our Constitution. And from the very beginning, the premise was that we will not be intimidated nor threatened, nor made fearful of our own Government.

Mr. President, I am going to conclude with that. I think Senator LEAHY wants to make a remark or two.

I yield whatever time is necessary for Senator LEAHY to make his remarks and then we will move to recess.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Vermont.

Mr. LEAHY. Thank you, and I thank my friend from Georgia.

A LANDMINE IS A LANDMINE

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, for those who are planning schedules, I do not expect to take long, but I will speak about an issue that I have talked about many times, the issue of landmines, something, I must admit, I think about in waking hours and sometimes in my dreams.

There was an ad in yesterday's Roll Call newspaper. It said:

There's just one problem with President Clinton's "landmine ban." . . . It doesn't ban landmines.

An ad in the Hill newspaper 2 days ago asked the question:

Would a landmine by any other name be as deadly?

That may seem like a strange question because the answer is so obvious. Landmines are those tiny hidden explosives that kill and maim randomly. They are strewn by the thousands, by the tens of millions, in over 100 million in over 60 countries.

They do things like what is shown in this photograph. They do it to children in as many foreign countries as there are States in the United States. That was a healthy young child walking down a road. That child in a single instant was maimed, crippled for the rest of his life, if he survives the surgery he will have to undergo. If he survives, he will grow up in a poor country with one arm, one leg and somehow be expected to make a living.

Imagine if something like this was happening in the United States. We would call it terrorism. We would make it a Federal crime. We would do everything possible to stop it. At my own home in Vermont, I can walk through acres of fields and woods, I can do it easily at this time of the year, in the great beauty of the fall foliage. If I was in most of these other countries, I would not dare step off the traveled part of the road.

So there should not be any question about what a landmine is. For hundreds of millions of people around the world, they are a daily, deadly nightmare. Everyday on their way to the fields, or to gather water or in school yards or on roads once safe to travel, innocent people, often children, are blown to bits by these indiscriminate weapons.

A year ago at the United Nations, President Clinton called on the nations of the world to ban antipersonnel landmines. The President said:

The United States will lead a global effort to eliminate these terrible weapons and stop the enormous loss of human life.

Those were inspiring words. I commend him today for saying them; I commended him at the time.

But today we are confronted with a question we thought had been answered a long time ago: When is a landmine a landmine?

It is relevant today because 2 weeks ago, rather than join 89 other nations, including most of our NATO allies, in agreeing to sign a treaty to ban antipersonnel mines, the White House resorted to doublespeak. Rather than make the hard choice, the right choice, rather than pledge unambiguously to do away with these weapons, they said one thing but then they did another. They said the United States would ban antipersonnel mines, but then in the same breath, they redefined what an antipersonnel landmine is so they wouldn't have to ban them after all.

Mr. President, some people were fooled, but not many. A September 24 article in the Washington Post begins with the same question:

When is an antipersonnel landmine . . . no longer an antipersonnel landmine?

When the President of the United States says so.

I am told that article upset some people in the Pentagon. I am not surprised. When the Pentagon tried to explain that a weapon that just a few months ago they called an antipersonnel landmine is no longer an antipersonnel landmine today—they said it was yesterday; today they say it is not—it is like watching someone who is caught telling a lie that even he convinced himself was not a lie, and then acting offended at the suggestion he tried to pull a fast one.

A weapon they once called a landmine, now isn't. Why do they say that? So they can say "Look, we banned landmines. Except some of them we renamed so we can still use them." It is Orwellian at best.

The Pentagon thought they could come up with a nifty way to get around a landmine ban that they never wanted. They asked themselves, "How can we be part of a treaty that bans antipersonnel mines, and still keep using them? We'll just call landmines something different. Then you don't really have to ban them, you can just say you are."

If antipersonnel mines are used in the vicinity of an antitank mine, then they miraculously become something different from an antipersonnel landmine even though that is what they were called just a few months ago. Without changing in any way, shape or form or explosive capability, they suddenly become a submunition, not a landmine.

Thank God, Mr. President, we have banned landmines from our arsenal. Only now we have submunitions. I am waiting for the appropriations bill to come forward to pay to relabel these millions of former landmines. Somebody will have to paint over where it says "landmine" and relabel them as "submunitions." And since submunitions are not banned, presto, the United States can say it is banning landmines even though everyone knows we are not.

Unfortunately, this kind of cynical ploy is seen too often in Washington. That is the problem.

So, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post article and a September 19 editorial from the Rutland Daily Herald, a Vermont newspaper that has kept up with the international campaign to ban landmines, be printed in the RECORD at the end of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibits 1 and 2.)

Mr. LEAHY. I thank the Chair.

Mr. President, there are serious issues here. One, of course, is about pretending a landmine is something else, in a last-minute attempt to avoid being embarrassed by being left out of an international treaty that the United States called for a year ago. It is embarrassing. We urged other nations to negotiate a treaty, and when they did we stayed out of the negotiations until

the last minute and then we said we would not sign it.

But another serious question is what to do with certain types of antitank mines that the United States has in its arsenal and that are packaged with antipersonnel mines.

I fully understand how important the Pentagon considers these weapons to our defense. I have spoken with people in the Pentagon about this. I do not intend to minimize this problem. What I am saying, though, is face the problem, be straight about it, do not play word games.

Because it is just as important that the United States support a landmine ban. If we are not going to be among the 100 nations that sign the treaty in Ottawa this December—and I understand that is the President's decision—then we need to find a way to remove the obstacles that keep us from signing, because I the United States needs to be part of this treaty. If that means redesigning our antitank mines, then that is what we ought to do.

We need to sign the treaty as soon as possible, because as remarkable an accomplishment as it is, without the United States it is never going to achieve the international ban that everyone, including the President, wants. No country has the ability that the United States has to broaden support for the treaty and obtain adherence to it. Nobody can exert the leadership that the world's only superpower can exert. The American people do not want the United States to use a weapon that does not belong in the arsenal of civilized nations. They do not want the United States to be standing in the way of a treaty that will set a new moral standard for the next century. As the most powerful Nation, it is time to put an end to the doublespeak and the excuses and get busy solving the problem.

Mr. President, I said when I spoke in Oslo to the representatives of nations and organizations that were meeting there, I dream of a century, a new century, when armies of humanity dig up, disarm, and destroy landmines and nobody—nobody—puts new landmines down. Think what a century that would be for the children and the children of the children in those countries.

Think what that would mean to the United States when it sends peacekeepers around the world, when it sends humanitarian workers, missionaries, doctors, whatever. Think what it would mean if they did not have to face the constant threat of landmines.

Think what it would mean if we could go into countries that today have to spend their scarce resources to import food because their people cannot go into their fields to plant or to harvest, fields that are death traps because of landmines. There might be only one landmine in a field, but if you do not know where that landmine is, there may as well be a hundred.

Think what it would mean if we could go to countries ravaged by civil

war and now reaching toward democracy, to help them rebuild the infrastructure they need and not have to spend money on removing landmines, expending \$100 to \$1,000 to remove a \$3 or \$5 landmine.

Think how wonderful it would be if our country did not have to fund, every year now to the tune of \$5 million, the Leahy War Victims Fund which pays for artificial limbs—something that is supported, I say with gratitude, by every Member of this Senate, Republican and Democrat. But think if we did not have to do that. Think if we would not have to see children learning to walk on crude prosthetics. Think what a different world it would be.

We have worked to ban nuclear testing. We have worked to ban chemical weapons. Far more civilians have died and been injured and maimed by landmines than by nuclear weapons or chemical weapons.

We can find a way to protect the legitimate defense needs of the United States and to maintain our legitimate obligations around the world whether on the Korean Peninsula or anywhere else. We can do that and still be part of the remarkable global effort to ban landmines.

Mr. President, I have been in many countries where I have gotten out of a car and been told where I should walk, to be careful, that I should step only here, not a foot away. I remember in one country I was about to step off the road and somebody grabbed my arm and yanked me back because there were landmines there.

These are things I remember, and they are a daily terror for people who live there.

Mr. President, let us join together to bring that to an end.

EXHIBIT 1

[From the Washington Post, Sept. 24, 1997]

CLINTON DIRECTIVE ON MINES: NEW FORM,
OLD FUNCTION
(By Dana Priest)

When is an antipersonnel land mine—a fist-sized object designed to blow up a human being—no longer an antipersonnel land mine?

When the president of the United States says so.

In announcing last week that the United States would not sign an international treaty to ban antipersonnel land mines, President Clinton also said he had ordered the Pentagon to find technological alternatives to these mines. "This program," he said, "will eliminate all antipersonnel land mines from America's arsenal."

Technically speaking, the president's statement was not quite accurate.

His directive left untouched the millions of little devices the Army and Defense Department for years have been calling antipersonnel land mines. These mines are used to protect antitank mines, which are much larger devices meant to disable enemy tanks and other heavy vehicles.

The smaller "protectors" are shot out of tanks or dropped from jets and helicopters. When they land, they shoot out threads that attach themselves to the ground with tiny hooks, creating cobweb-like tripwires. Should an enemy soldier try to get close to the antitank mine, chances are he would trip

a wire, and either fragments would explode at ground level or a handball-sized grenade would pop up from the antipersonnel mine to about belly height. In less than a second, the grenade would explode, throwing its tiny metal balls into the soldier's flesh and bones.

In the trade, these "mixed" systems have names such as Gator, Volcano, MOPMS and Area Denial Artillery Munition, or ADAM.

These mines, Clinton's senior policy director for defense policy and arms control, Robert Bell, explained later, "are not being banned under the president's directive because they are not antipersonnel land mines." They are, he said "antihandling devices," "little kinds of explosive devices" or, simply, "munitions."

Not according to the Defense Department, which has used them for years.

When the Pentagon listed the antipersonnel land mines it was no longer allowed to export under a 1992 congressionally imposed ban, these types were on the list.

And when Clinton announced in January that he would cap the U.S. stockpile of antipersonnel land mines in the inventory, they were on that list too.

At the time, there were a total of 1 million Gators, Volcanos and MOPMs, as well as 9 million ADAMs. (Only some ADAMs are used in conjunction with antitank mines, and those particular devices are no longer considered antipersonnel land mines.)

The unclassified Joint Chiefs of Staff briefing charts used to explain the impact of legislation to Congress this year explicitly state that Gators, Volcanos, MOPMS and ADAMs are antipersonnel land mines.

So does a June 19 Army information paper titled "U.S. Self-Destructing Anti-Personnel Landmine Use." So does a fact sheet issued in 1985 by the Army Armament, Munition and Chemical Command.

As does a recent Army "Information Tab," which explains that the Gator is "packed with a mix of 'smart' AP [antipersonnel] and 'smart' AT [antitank] mines."

And when Air Force Gen. Joseph W. Ralston, vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, briefed reporters at the White House on May 16, 1996, he said: "Our analysis shows that the greatest benefit of antipersonnel land mines is when they are used in conjunction with antitank land mines. . . . If you don't cover the antitank mine field with antipersonnel mines, it's very easy for the enemy to go through the mine field."

A diplomatic dispute over the types of antipersonnel land mines Ralston was describing then and arms control adviser Bell sought to redefine last week was one of the main reasons the United States decided last week not to sign the international treaty being crafted in Oslo, Norway.

U.S. negotiators argued that because these mines are programmed to eventually self-destruct, they are not responsible for the humanitarian crisis—long-forgotten mines injuring and killing civilians—that treaty supporters hoped to cure with a ban, and therefore should be exempt from the ban.

Also, because other countries had gotten an exemption for the type of antihandling devices they use to prevent soldiers from picking up antitank mines—U.S. negotiators contended that the United States should get an exemption for the small mines it uses for the same purpose.

Negotiators in Oslo did not accept Washington's stance. They worried that other countries might seek to exempt the types of antipersonnel mines they wanted to use, too, and the whole treaty would soon become meaningless.

The administration was not trying to deceive the public, Bell said in an interview yesterday, bristling at the suggestion. Given the fact that the U.S. devices are used to

protect antitank mines, "it seems entirely common-sensical to us" to call them antihandling devices.

Said Bell: "This was not a case of us trying to take mines and then define the problem away."

EXHIBIT 2

[From the Rutland Daily Herald, Sept. 19, 1997]

CLINTON'S STUMBLE

Sen. Patrick Leahy is charitable to President Clinton in his statement, printed below, about the treaty negotiated this week in Oslo, Norway, banning anti-personnel land mines.

Leahy says he is convinced Clinton wants to see land mines eliminated and that Clinton's commitment is real.

But his statement also contains a damning account of Clinton's pusillanimous surrender to the Pentagon and his incompetent, eleventh-hour effort to negotiate a compromise. Leahy, a champion of the international effort to ban land mines, covers up his scorn for Clinton's effort with the barest fig leaf of decorum.

The land mine negotiations are an excellent lesson in why the U.S. Constitution ensures that control of the military remains in civilian hands. In a democracy, the U.S. military is an instrument of the people, not a separate warrior caste. Thus, it is up to the civilian government to institute the humanitarian standards and the political boundaries that reflect the people's values. Clinton chickened out.

Clinton used Korea as an excuse, but in doing so he failed to make the necessary calculation; the marginal difficulty of reconfiguring our defenses in Korea weighed against the daily carnage the land mine treaty is designed to prevent.

About 100 nations have signed on to the treaty, which forbids them to use, produce, acquire, store or transfer anti-personnel land mines. They have also agreed to destroy current stocks and to remove any mines they have in place. Further, they have agreed to assist in the care of land mine victims.

The treaty represents an extraordinary response, outside the usual bureaucratic channels of the United Nations, by the governments of the world to a popular demand for change.

U.S. participation is necessary, however, if the ban is to become a true worldwide ban. That's because there is no chance those nations who have not signed will join the ban until the United States does. These include China, Russia, India, Pakistan and Israel, all of which could continue to serve as sources for land mines for terrorist organizations.

Thus, Leahy is holding to his goal of making the United States a signatory of the treaty. A bill of his that has 60 co-sponsors would have established a ban on use of land mines by the United States in 2000. The prospect that that bill might pass goaded the Clinton administration into joining the Oslo talks in the first place.

Now Leahy plans to consult with participants in the Oslo talks, including the Canadians who have led the treaty movement, plus Clinton and members of Congress, to determine how best to move the United States toward signing the treaty. Pushing the Leahy-Hagel bill, which includes an exception for Korea under some circumstances, is one option.

It is clear Clinton needs to be reminded he was elected by the people, not by the Pentagon, and that the people believe progress in ending use of this barbaric weapon is important. Leahy scoffs at the notion that the most powerful nation in the world requires this primitive weapon to protect itself. The message to policymakers in Washington

must be that it is shameful the United States has failed to join a worldwide effort to make the world a safer and more civilized place.

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I see my distinguished friend from Georgia back on the floor. So I yield the floor.

Mr. COVERDELL addressed the Chair.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The bill clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

BIPARTISAN CAMPAIGN REFORM ACT OF 1997

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now resume consideration of S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered. The clerk will report the bill.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 25) to reform the financing of Federal elections.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Lott amendment No. 1258, to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Lott amendment No. 1259 (to amendment No. 1258), in the nature of a substitute.

Lott amendment No. 1260 (to amendment No. 1258), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Lott amendment No. 1261, in the nature of a substitute.

Lott amendment No. 1262 (to amendment No. 1261), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Motion to recommit the bill to the Committee on Rules and Administration with instructions to report back forthwith, with an amendment.

Lott amendment No. 1263 (to instructions of motion to recommit), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

Lott amendment No. 1264 (to amendment No. 1263), in the nature of a substitute.

Lott amendment No. 1265 (to amendment No. 1264), to guarantee that contributions to Federal political campaigns are voluntary.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I send a cloture motion to the desk on the pending Lott amendment No. 1258 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby

move to bring to a close debate on the pending amendment No. 1258 to Calendar No. 183, S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill:

Trent Lott, Don Nickles, Jon Kyl, Slade Gorton, Mitch McConnell, Connie Mack, Larry E. Craig, Strom Thurmond, Gordon H. Smith, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Jesse Helms, Christopher S. Bond, Thad Cochran, Rick Santorum, R. F. Bennett, Bob Smith.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Georgia.

CLOTURE MOTION

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I now send a cloture motion to the desk to the bill S. 25.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The cloture motion having been presented under rule XXII, the Chair directs the clerk to read the motion.

The bill clerk read as follows:

CLOTURE MOTION

We, the undersigned Senators, in accordance with the provisions of rule XXII of the Standing Rules of the Senate, do hereby move to bring to a close debate on Calendar No. 183, S. 25, the campaign finance reform bill:

Trent Lott, Rick Santorum, Jon Kyl, Don Nickles, Mitch McConnell, Connie Mack, Larry E. Craig, Strom Thurmond, Gordon H. Smith, Kay Bailey Hutchison, Jesse Helms, Christopher S. Bond, Thad Cochran, R. F. Bennett, Bob Smith, Ted Stevens.

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, we now have two cloture motions pending to the campaign finance reform bill. I anticipate the first cloture vote, that being a vote to limit debate on the amendment referred to as the Paycheck Protection Act to occur after lunch on Tuesday October 7. If cloture is not invoked on the paycheck protection amendment, then the Senate would immediately proceed to a cloture vote on the campaign finance reform bill.

I ask unanimous consent the mandatory quorum under rule XXII be waived and the cloture votes occur at 2:15 on Tuesday, October 7.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA APPROPRIATIONS ACT, 1998

Mr. COVERDELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate now resume the D.C. appropriations bill.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The clerk will report.

The bill clerk read as follows:

A bill (S. 1156) making appropriations for the government of the District of Columbia and other activities chargeable in whole or in part against the revenues of said District for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1998, and for other purposes.

The Senate resumed consideration of the bill.

Pending:

Coats modified amendment No. 1249, to provide scholarship assistance for District of Columbia elementary and secondary school students.

Graham-Mack-Kennedy amendment No. 1252, to provide relief to certain aliens who